

593^x With reference to signs of affection, grief at the time of death,
152 etc., the observations made for parent-child relationships hold true
here -- mutatis mutandis.

3. Various relatives

602 The Nkundo's affection extends toward all members of his family, that is, all those with whom he feels linked by blood and common origin. These relatives are much greater in number than in Europe, because Nkundó kinship includes many more generations. The intensity of affection decreases with the distance of the degree of kinship. But the Nkundó knows and feels that he belongs to a large family, and he remains attached to all its members. He can find a home with any of them. This accounts for the fact that in the centers, men from the same village will look for each other and consider each other "brothers." Actually, that is what they are, since in general each village consists of only a single kin group.

● [621] Although here, as in the case of brothers and sisters, common interests play a part in maintaining bonds between family members, the feelings of affection are not based on selfish considerations. The latter only reinforce these feelings, which are truly innate among the Nkundó. Among the various relatives the strongest attachments are developed between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces, male cousins and female cousins, etc.

603 Among the Nkundó as among Europeans there is a very strong affection between grandparents and grandsons, even greater, one might say, than between parents and children (the expression is: bóna [30] l'onkáná, ndekf nd'onkáná). But the relationship degenerates into complacency and weakness on one side, and into disrespectful carelessness on the other.

604 A Nkundó loves his paternal uncles and aunts and treats them like "fathers," and his maternal uncles and aunts like "mothers." Naturally, his feelings toward them are not as affectionate as for his parents, but they are an extension of these in an attenuated form.

605 The same situation holds true for the bonds which link him to his cousins, whom he calls "brothers" and "sisters." The children of his paternal aunt are his "fathers," however.

583^x end in his hand and offers the other to the husband, saying, "Take-it."
431 The husband naturally refuses and extricates himself by means of a knife or a piece of copper. [149]

11) Boëngo w'eyau, or "weeds." These are demanded by some clans because the husband's clan scoffs at them on account of the number of weeds and chaff they allow to grow in their village instead of keeping it clean. One or two rings are given.

12) Engumbá: known in some groups, such as the Bakáala, where it is the last one demanded. It is a boëngo of authority, (1)

• [62]

1. An engumbá is a temporary hut in a newly settled village. The family patriarchs are the first who must go and live there in order to urge the others to follow and to exorcise all the evil of possible magic spells.

claimed by the patriarchs of the families belonging to the grouping from which the woman has come. Formerly, the amount went as high as 3 to 5 bakonga, depending on the number of families, groups of families, or clans related through marriage that were living in the same village. Now the payment is made primarily in European currency, and the amount may be 50 francs, for example. This boëngo is later divided among the various kin groupings related to the wife's family.

Various male and female relatives of the woman ask for assorted small objects, such as a small knife (iféeka), a native razor (lotéti), a pin for braiding hair (bosóngó), a needle (nsongf), a necklace of blue beads (bisengéla), etc.

Nowadays many other objects are also demanded: clothing, dishes, etc. Thus, one day on the occasion of a single bride-price payment, I heard demands for the following objects:

For the father, a pair of trousers and a jacket, because when the woman was a young child she soiled his clothing without troubling herself about the matter.

For the mother, a bed, because worries about her daughter often kept her from resting.

614 Thus we have five groups which are exogamous; marriage is forbidden within each group, but not with members of the other groups. The little genealogy above gives some idea of the antiquity of the line and of the distance which separates its present members from the founding ancestor of the tribe. It should be noted that each exogamous group is subdivided into several villages, clans, and families. The same limits appear to be set with respect to the maternal line; marriage with the descendants of brothers and sisters of the ancestress, wife of the ancestor of the exogamous grouping, is forbidden. (1)

1. Note that lonkâna relations are practiced within each of the five exogamous groups, but not between the descendants of the same ancestress, wife of one of the ancestors, and of her bibisa. See Chapter I, Article VII, 1.

In investigating this subject the family of the ancestress must be taken into account as well as the paternal line.

In order to be able to define an exogamous group precisely, it is therefore necessary to study not only several villages, but also various tribes. For a single group may be composed of several families who live far from each [248] other and have sometimes become attached to groupings of people who are only very distantly related or even complete strangers. In such a case therefore a single village may include several exogamous groups.

614
● 621 Such is the case of the Bôendé, descended from the ancestor Ilumbé yâ Mpumo. From his first wife, Edmê, arose the Etôo groups, from his other wives, the Bongangâ groups. They do not marry among themselves but are a good example of a complex composition.

The Etôo are dispersed in four villages:

- 1) Etôo of Lotôla
- 2) Etôo of Bakovô or Mbôlanéne, both Basékâ Bomibôngo
- 3) Etôo of Mbémbé or Basékâ Bofiiyolo
- 4) Etôo of Bosânjo or Basékâ Eôngo

The Bongangā are divided as follows:

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1) Bongangā, in the narrow sense of the term (Basēkā Inanō, B. Bolakā, B. Bongēngē, B. Bandūwā, B. Lokōkōmyā)

2) Bongangā of Bakoyō, or Bolima

3) Bongangā of Mbōmbē or Basēkā Botāna

Thus Lotōlā, Bakoyō, and Mbōmbē each have an Etōo group and a Bongangā group. The Bongangā, in the narrow sense of the term, have in addition a "slave" group named Batsīna, a part of which is located with the Bosānjo. A foreign clan is settled with the Etōo of Lotōlā; they are the Bofalambōka, descendant of a man named Ekonda (Imbolo) and his sister who was married to Mbete, a slave from Bompāngā (Wāngatā) who was freed by his master.

Many villages have foreign groups living with them such as descendants of slaves (ekwāla), or others (Ekonda, Bombwanja, groups related by marriage called likilo, mpāmā or bowēlē, and mbūsolā, (1) etc.). [249]

[609]

[848]

[825]

1. Mpāmā or bowēlē are any foreigners who were formerly invited by the group patriarch to remain with him in order to carry out certain tasks, especially metal-working. Mbūsolā is the term applied to a child born to a woman out of wedlock (Chapter I, Part 2, Article IV, 3). Such children are also called nkio y'āōme, "the husband's flying dogs," because they are not his own children but are attached to their mother's husband in the fashion of these animals, who attach themselves to trees when they sleep.

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If we add the descendants of relatives who have married into other more or less remote groupings, the prohibition against marriage on account of kinship applies to a good many people. In accordance with the law of exogamy, such a kin group may be widely dispersed geographically, and it is understandable that it is not always easy to

THE NKUMU OF THE TUMBA

624 customary manner, with a double clap. They are told by the *nkumu* to repeat the
 576 salutation, and having done so may be asked to do it a third time. They are then
 given a few rods in payment. If the *nkumu* sees some member of his own *ekopo*
 coming to greet him, he gives him special honour by ordering him to lie flat on his
 back instead of merely sitting, and at the end he gives him a larger gift of rods than
 the others receive. In this way the *nkumu* may pay out a great many rods to those
 who thus render him homage. Ordinarily a man will receive five or six, but one
 624 specially honoured may be given as many as twenty. From the beginning the *nkumu*
 has to pay heavily for his honours, and only a wealthy man can hope to attain them.
 [556] For this reason a lawful successor, if not wealthy, may be glad to give up his rights
 to another more fortunate member of the *ekopo*. Homage having been paid, word is
 sent out that the *nkumu* is about to come forth, and crowds begin to gather. A coat
 [302] of red camwood powder mixed with oil is smeared over the *nkumu*, the brass plates
 are attached to his *montolo*, and he is attired in all his finery. The crowd outside
 dances, and when tired sits on the ground to await the rest of the ceremony. Inside,
 [533] the *lekombi* begins to play, the *nyemba* to sing, and the Batwa *ntotii* to praise the
nkumu by uttering an ululating sound. Accompanied by *Nsono*, *Bilepo*, and the
maomi, the *nkumu* himself begins to dance. The temporary protecting screen round
 the *ipana* is pulled down, and he is seen by all. After his dance he retires again and
 the crowd disperses.

[481] When *Nkema Akuke* becomes *nkumu* he changes everything possible so as to
 become different from other men. Thus he assumes a different gait, a sort of bow-
 legged waddle, a different tone of voice, and it seems that under this influence even
 his facial features undergo a change. Accompanied by his retinue, he visits the
 various villages where he has friends and relatives in order to greet them. This over,
 the musicians wish to take their departure and are paid for their services by
 the *nkumu*.

624 At the conclusion of these ceremonies the *nkumu* with his *ekopo* and the *molemba*
 negotiate concerning their obligations to one another. If the *nkumu* is the first of his
 596 line, he and his *ekopo* are given land to cultivate, while succeeding *nkumu* simply take
 over the land originally accorded. The *molemba* call their *nkumu* their wife, and they
 621 designate themselves husband. They thus reckon the relationship between *molemba*
 and *ekopo* to be that of husband and wife, and, as in an actual marriage, there must
 be an interchange of obligations performed in a spirit of harmony. Also, as in
 marriage a wife may be divorced, so an *nkumu* with his *ekopo* could be sent off to their
 home and the arrangement terminated. It not infrequently happened that as strangers
 the *ekopo* fell out with their hosts and if such a disagreement could not be righted
 they might be refunded the payments with which they had purchased their rights,
 and sent off home.

224 Among the reciprocal obligations of *molemba* and *ekopo* are included the sharing
 624 of certain animals and birds killed in the hunt, among which are the leopard and
 elephant. All killed, whether male or female, must be divided. Of certain other
 621 animals, including the wild pig, antelope, and buffalo, if a female, no portion is given,
 if a male, the required portion is presented. These reciprocal obligations are limited
 596 strictly to the *ekopo* and *molemba*; if others outside of these groups wish to present the
nkumu with meat to honour him or to curry favour, they may do so, but they are under

THE NKUMU OF THE TUMBA

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no compulsion. If one of the contracting parties fails to fulfil its pledges in this matter of giving part of the kill, or in anything else, the aggrieved party may call the council together. This consists not only of members of the *molemba* and *ekopo*, but of all elders of the village or villages connected with this particular one. The party judged in the wrong, whether *ekopo* or *molemba*, will be fined, the injured party receiving its share, and both parties will be charged to live together harmoniously and observe their contracts. 224
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The power of the *nkumu* was apparently limited, and did not supersede that of the *momemu mokonda*. When trials came up, the aggrieved party might go either to the *momemu mokonda* or to the *nkumu*. If it was necessary to call the village elders together about it, both these authorities were present at the hearing. First the young men of the group were allowed to give their verdict, then the old men, after that *momemu mokonda* (or the *molomi o ehe*), and finally the *nkumu* was given the privilege of the last word. He would comment on the opinions of each of the judges, criticizing one young man, commending another, and then giving his own verdict, at which the group would assent by saying, 'Even so, grandfather'. The whole group of judges would then fix the fines, a double portion of which went to the *nkumu*. 624
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The actual manual labour which an *nkumu* may do excludes anything endangering life or limb, or requiring agility and speed. He may clear the bush for his gardens: this is a man's work. He may take part in the building of his houses, but may do no high work, and, among the inland groups, it is the work of the Batwa to put the roof on for him. The *nkumu* may also prepare pitfalls for catching game, but cannot engage in any other type of hunting or do any fishing. Digging a grave is prohibited, for, as we shall see, everything pertaining to death must be ignored by the *nkumu*. 624
[563]

Other rules affecting the daily life of the *nkumu* may be roughly divided into three: those affecting his person, those having to do with his food, and social regulations.

One of the great points of observance in the first class of regulations is the importance of the *montolo*. The *nkumu* must on no account be seen during daylight hours with an uncovered head. If he wishes relief from the cumbersome *montolo* he may take it off in the darkness of his house and put on an ordinary hat made of skins, and when night falls he may walk where he will bareheaded if he so desires. The skin hat, known as *louku*, may be made from two animals only, in the case of an *nkumu*, one being the *nkulupa*, a species of antelope with light-coloured hair, and the other the *iyoko*, an animal resembling a beaver. The skin of the *nkulupa* may be used by anyone, but the *iyoko* is reserved for the *nkumu* only with one exception. The skin of the *iyoko* may also be used for the carrying strap for infants known as *nyamba*, which is worn over one shoulder in bandoleer fashion. For the *nkumu* the skin of the *iyoko* is limited to the informal hat, *louku*, and for making into the *lekoto*, a pouch used for carrying small objects and worn like a sporran. As a corollary to the importance of the *montolo* may be noted the importance attached to the head of the *nkumu*, which must never be seen uncovered in daylight. 624
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[824]
[854]

The Bonginda *nkumu* never wash in the daytime, but may wash at night with hot water. The inland *nkumu* never wash. Even the Bonginda *nkumu* never wash their heads, and no *nkumu* ever cuts his hair. If the *nkumu* becomes too greatly inconvenienced, one of his wives may delouse his head, but only within the privacy of the house, by the light that enters the rear opening. 624
515
[84]

61 another group. According to their relationship to others, groups
602 may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;

brother or half brother (descended from various wives
of the polygynous ancestor);

[848]

Illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the
child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother,
belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;

child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to
the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there
permanently;

son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from
his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group
of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

601 Present-day social relationships are influenced by this
variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the
relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are
occasionally transferred to the groups.

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In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an

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12. Müller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff.,
125, 128 ff.

[101] example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group
of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the
region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided
which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the
letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure.
Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the
largest units (see Diagram 2).¹

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there
are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may
also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group,
Lilumbu, in Wengá.

¹[See page 6, category 116.-Analyst]

602 All the groups represented on the diagram (Diagram 2)
614 are known by their names to the adults of Isangi. In addition to
●621 their regular name, all these groups also have a "drum" name
[552] and an "honorary" name. Only the three Boyeke groups of rank
B have different drum names but no individual group names.
The arrangement of groups as found on the diagram does not
represent a genealogy. It is based simply on the characteristics
and functions of the individual groups [190] which in each case
are equal to each other on one rank. Thus, we have here an
organizational diagram, not a genealogical table. [Diagrams
1 and 2 appear here.]

The people of Isangi are also well aware of the relation-
ships between the individual groups, but they are not as clearly
conscious of the system as it appears in our diagram. They are
able to describe the kinship relations between the groups and they
can point out which functions are assigned to the individual groups
without, however, regarding the groups as equal to one another
because they have like functions and without seeing them as part
of a system as we do. Thus, our diagram represents a systematiza-
tion which, by its very nature, does not wholly do justice to
reality. Correspondingly, therefore, there is no satisfactory
Ekonda social terminology.

[191] [Diagram 3 appears here.] Just as in nonscientific
European usage, the terms lack sufficient precision. Furthermore,
in principle the nature of the groups between rank A to E and of
the still larger units is similar, and as a result all the terms are
used almost indiscriminately for large and small units alike.

601 Usually, the word ikundf (literally, "lap") refers to small
621 units, approximately those of ranks A and B, but it is also used
614 for larger and large units if their relatively close degree of
kinship is to be stressed. Thus it approximately corresponds to
the meaning of the word "family" as used in nonscientific lan-
guage. The word ilongo refers both to what in European usage is
described as the small family [Kleinfamilie] and also to groups
of ranks A and B.

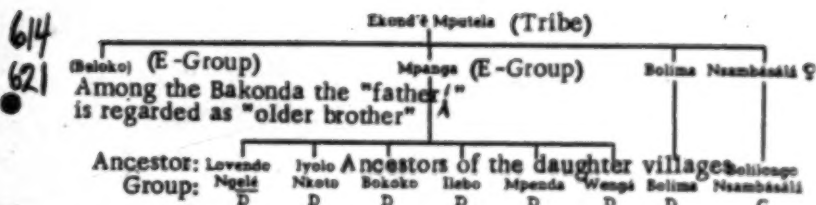


Diagram 1. Genealogy of the Bakonda. Letters below the group names refer to the rank of the respective groups (see

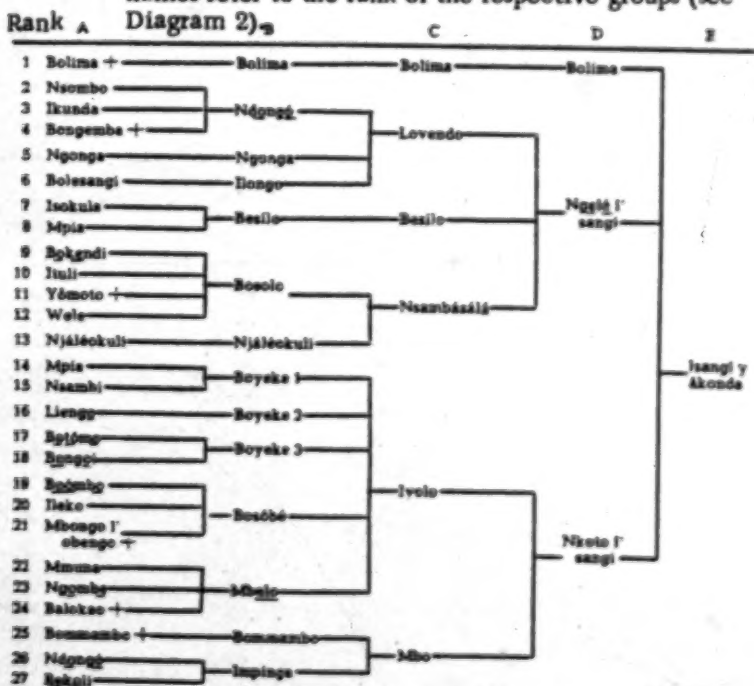
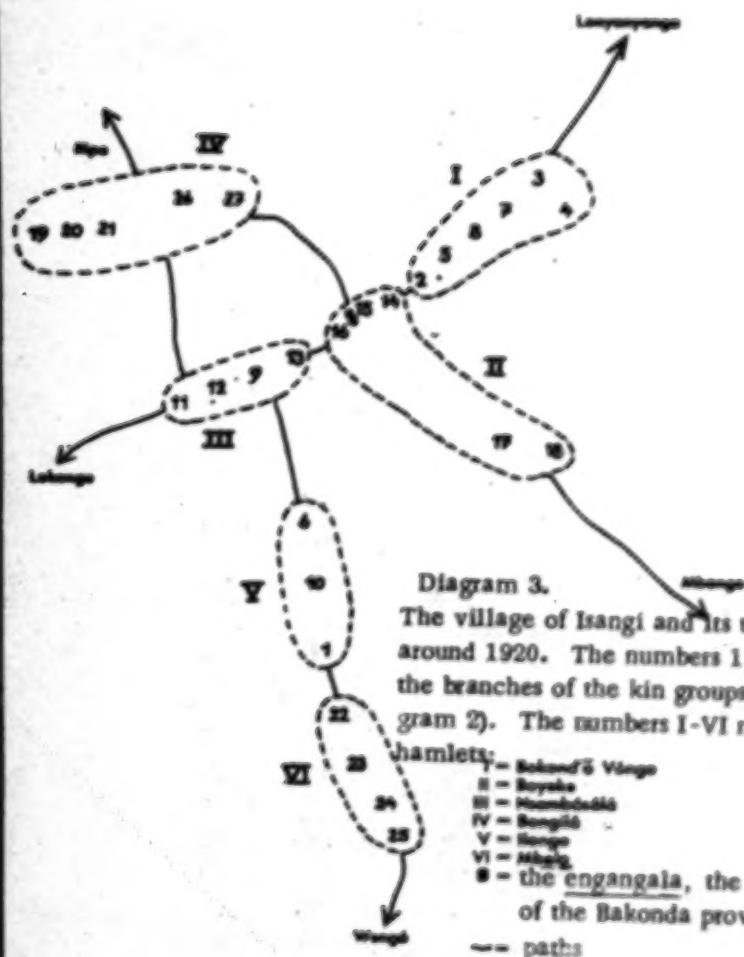


Diagram 2. Kinship Structure of Isangi.

1-27 = Numbering of the A-Groups shown in Diagram 3.

+ = extinct group.

A [in. of LONYANYA, L.]

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601/ Bonsonga and etika are terms used for kinship groups of
 62/ ranks B, C, and D, but occasionally they may also refer to
 614 [192] the groups listed under A and, in addition, to the local
 groups which in size approximately correspond to the kinship
 units mentioned above. Etika is the term used for the oil palm
 grove and for a certain kind of termite hill; apparently it is
 used for local groups more frequently than the term bonsonga.

[571] Another term whose meaning varies is ekinda. This word
 [935] designates, first of all, a dance group, a corps de ballet, and
 also the social unit which sends such a joint dance troupe to
 dance festivals.

Esi also has strong local connotations. It is usually identi-
 cal with what we call a village, but frequently units which are
 larger or smaller than a village are designated as esi. Very
 large groups, tribes and even larger units, are called bonsonga.

614/ As a criterion for placing the individual groups within a
 certain rank, one or several functions have been chosen in each
 case. The groups of the individual ranks are described below
 relative to their functions. On the subject of groups it should be
 added that in general they do not differ from each other in cer-
 tain traits. All groups of all ranks are kinship units of patrilineal
 descent. They consider themselves descendants of one ancestor.
 No continuous and complete genealogy which can be traced back
 to the original ancestor is known. The genealogy of the entire
 group of the Bakonda is shown in Diagram 1.

In Isangi two of the ancestors of the groups of rank D are
 brothers, the third is the brother of their father. A D-group
 (Ngeld) includes, in addition, the descendants of an illegitimate
 child of the paternal sister of the ancestor. These offspring
 form the C-group, Namhdaifi.

There is a gap between this ancient genealogy and the
 known ancestors from the recent past. In contrast with that
 of the neighboring Bokote [Bokete] (see, for example, Boelaert,
 [179] "Les Bongili"), the genealogical memory of the Ekonda is weak.
 It does not reach back to the ancestor of the group of rank A. In
 this connection we must take into account the fact that a group

614 The exogamy rules of the Ekonda do not only refer to
582 their own, agnatic group, but also to all cognate groups to
whom kinship relations can still be traced back, i.e., a span
of about five generations.

Groups of Rank E

614 It may be assumed that these groups always extend be-
621 yond the confines of a village. Those parts of a group who
have settled next to each other have their communal meeting
place, but even the dispersed fractions of the group may come
there to consult. In former times probably only one such group
had a nkimd, a sacred prince who lived in the main village
(e.g., Iangi), while the other villages were ruled by the
senior. Once the title of nkimd was also bestowed on persons
from other villages, the importance of the E-groups almost com-
pletely disappeared. Also, in this category the local group plays
a much greater role. Occasionally it even includes dependent
[609] villages which have not yet been "paternalized," i.e., which
are still regarded as alien. In this connection it should be men-
tioned that probably all larger local groups tend to reconstitute
themselves into kinship groups by reinterpreting the genealogy
to suit their purposes. It is certain that the "kinship relation" of
many "kinship groups" has been created in this manner. We may
dismiss the possibility that groups which are divided from one
another by the rule of exogamy will invent a kinship relation so
close that a previously possible marriage would be outlawed.
Also, the combination of other important functions of the lower
ranks resulting from the invention of a closer relationship would
run counter to the tendency of progressive differentiation (17).

17. We know through statements of the
natives that about one hundred years
ago the exogamy limit was lowered to
the present level. Before that time only
the Lunkana was permitted among the
Ngala, Nkoto, and Bolima.

614 In general one may assume that local groups will postulate only
 621 that kind of kinship relationship which does not necessitate a
 substantial functional reintegration. For this reason, units above
 the exogamy limit will easily tend to construe a genealogy which
 "proves" a kinship relationship. Groups of that type are func-
 tionally weak. One can observe processes of this kind both
 among the group of the Bakonda and among the neighboring
 E-group, Lonyanyanga. The institution of the nkũmũ (see above,
 p. 14) also appears to have a leveling influence. The privileges
 of the oldest (and free) group diminish in importance and fall
 behind the office of nkũmũ. The new office is also open to
 younger and dependent groups.

Sociological Terminology for Kinship Groups

128 Before dealing with the units which are to be regarded as
 settlement groups, we shall compare the kinship groups of the
 Ekonda with the sociological ideal types. Keeping in mind the
 authors mentioned at the beginning, I shall now discuss the vari-
 ous terms used for groups which are applicable to conditions
 found among the Ekonda. [196]

Family

121 The small family is of no importance in the organiza-
 596 tional system of the Ekonda. Nevertheless it is very important as
 the smallest unit of economic life. Each small family is poten-
 tially polygynous, but monogynous marriages are more numerous
 at the present time, especially among the younger generation.
 In view of this difference between potential and practiced
 polygyny, it seems advisable to follow Thurnwald in classing
 the polygamous forms together with the small family and to
 differentiate its nuclear families (18). In my opinion this approach

18. Vol. 4, p. 12 f.

seems to correspond more closely to its functional importance
 than Murdock's view, according to which the polygamous family

- [12] definitions to present a theory of development, the differentiation
[14] between the two terms appears to me to be very useful, and this seems particularly true if we accept the first definition of clan given by Thurnwald and regard the second as completely irrelevant for our present purposes.

It is true that our A-group lives in a certain district which it claims for itself as its own "province," but it is nevertheless difficult to describe this district as a politically sovereign community. A political nature could rather be attributed to those groups which, up to now, we have not described at all, i.e., the settlement communities. Proceeding further, the A-group is integrated into the B-group, the B-group into the C-group, thus forming an endless chain; among those tribes who have a greater degree of genealogical consciousness than the Ekonda -- for example, the neighboring Bongili (25) -- the hierarchy of groups

25. Boelaert, "Les Bongili."

ends with mankind, the hierarchy of ancestors with God.

- [12] Thurnwald emphasizes this ranked structure, especially
[14] in discussing the kinship group. Kirchhoff, however, fails to deal with the problem of the kinship group in a manner which would be of value to us in differentiating between kinship group and clan. Dealing with the organizational structure of the peoples he discussed, he naturally was more interested in defining the border between large family and kinship group. Lowie (26)

26. Primitive Society.

only discusses the kinship group, "tribe," calling it the "'clan' of British anthropologists" (p. 105) or "clans," if patrilineal, and "gentes," if matrilineal, "of most American anthropologists." The "ad infinitum" (p. 106) is also stressed by him in relation to the kinship group. Lowie also admits the possibility of subdivision with respect to his "tribe," and consequently he even includes in the kinship group such forms as the "moieties," which according to Thurnwald's definition are still part of it, but which in his view

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kinship subgroup (Untersippe) for groups of rank C;
 kinship group (Sippe) for groups of rank D (the exogamous
 units);
 large kinship group (Grossippe) for groups of rank E.

Local Organization

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 621 The second diagram¹ shows the settlement pattern of the
 178 Isangi group in its old settlement area up to 1949. At this time
 Isangi was relocated near the highway. Only two of the nuclear
 kinship groups of Isangi can lay claim to territory reaching far
 enough toward the east as to extend beyond the new highway.
 Thus, the resettlement process has led to a complete change of
 the settlement pattern. However, the functions of the settle-
 ment communities have not yet been adapted to the new settle-
 ment. At present the inhabitants are still so engaged in specu-
 lation about the possibility of a return to their own old territory
 that they have not yet reformed their village organization.

621 We observe that the village is divided into six settlement
 614 communities (30), each of which consists only of the members

30. See Diagram 3.

of one of the two kinship groups of Isangi. [200] We find that
 only the group of the father, which formerly was a kinship group
 in its own right, is attached to one settlement community of the
 kinship group Ngeld. Incidentally, we might point out that the
 names of the two kinship groups, Ngeld and Nkoto, mean "down
 the river" and "up the river." The older group is called "down
 the river" since in ngeld the river is large and wide. We come
 across this honorary term for the older group in some other vil-
 lages although there is not always an "up-river" group. No
 corresponding settlement pattern can be found.

614 The degree of cohesion among the constituent kinship
 621 groups in settlement community I is so strong that the entire
 208 community has a communal bokendi, a communal messenger.
 627

¹[page 7, category 116.-Analysis]

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• 621
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It is the task of the messengers to transmit all important messages to the other groups in accordance with a precise plan; this is particularly true regarding the invitations to the meetings of the village council with the nkundá. At the same time they inform the other groups as to the program of the meeting. The first messenger calls on the messenger of the other community; the old men are gathered at the latter's house in order to receive and to discuss the message. The messenger of this community, in turn, departs for the next in line. As a result of this practice the messenger and his home became one of the centers of social life.

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The same uniformity is found in community II. Here we can also see the engangala, the meeting place of the village Iangi and of its branch villages. The meeting place is an open space in which stands a short tree with a broad crown. The representatives of the several villages gather in the shade of this tree since one of the open men's houses could not accommodate all of them. The senior of the nuclear kinship groups Mpia (No. 14), Nambi (No. 15), and Liengo (No. 16) has his house on this spot which is situated on the border of the territory belonging to these three groups. The elder of Mpia, however, is the messenger for the hamlet of Boyeka; he may of course be identical with the "elder on the engangala."

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[72]
[624]
Cohesion within the third settlement community was also so strong that it employs only one messenger. The kinship subgroup Nambáifis which is concentrated in this hamlet is said to consist of the descendants of an illegitimate child of the daughter of the village founder (see Diagram 1). As is the case in many other villages, it is therefore entrusted with the office of the bofni, who carries out the sacrifice of human beings and animals on the proper occasions.

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The three communities just described are relatively homogeneous groups; the three following ones are quite heterogeneous. The two groups of hamlet IV belong to the kinship subgroups Iyolo and Mbo. In contrast to the kinship subgroups Lovendo and Basila, they regard themselves as sufficiently different from

6/4 each other to employ their own messengers. When the messenger
 621 of settlement II arrives here, he first calls on the messenger of
 624 the nuclear kinship group Boudé (No. 19) and then to Impaga
 202 (No. 26). The messenger from Boudé calls on his relatives in
 settlement VI, who are the nuclear kinship group Mbelo-Mmuna
 (No. 22), while the messenger from Impaga-Idongé formerly
 had to call on the group Bommambo which is now extinct.

Settlement V consisted of three different groups. Solina,
 the group of the father, had its own messenger; however, he
 only received the messages without having to pass them on,
 which is also the case with all these last groups of the village.
 Both neighbors had their own messenger. The messenger from
 settlement I called on the nuclear kinship group Solesangi, his
 relatives; the messenger from settlement III went to his rela-
 tives of the nuclear kinship group Iruli.

There were also two messengers in the last hamlet, but
 reports on this subject are insufficient since the nuclear kinship
 group Bommambo has been extinct for a long time.

179 All the settlements just mentioned have a common
 6/4 characteristic: formerly, at important dance festivals, their
 621 young men performed together in one joint corps de ballet. The
 395 population was decimated as a result of the rigors of [201] the
 [6/1] occupation period and also as a result of the population move-
 ment into the cities. Consequently, there are not enough young
 people any more, and I with II, III with IV, and V with VI act
 together. Thus, in each case we find Ngelm and Nkoto united
 in one ballet. Although these groups have also been scattered
 [361] as a result of the new settlement pattern (next to the highway),
 the old organizational structure has been preserved, and the
 young people do not hesitate to walk the long distance to the
 practice field every day so they can dance in the old groupings.

621 All of Isangi, all these kinship groups, have one common
 624 village chief, the Nkémé, with an iyolo nafia who gets the meet-
 622 ings started, and a village court with its judges. There are other
 groups which correspond to Isangi (31), but have more than one

31. See Miller, Pivronium, pp. 72 ff.,
 76 ff., 123 f.

62/ nkámú. They, too, however, have only one man who opens a
62/ meeting and one investigating judge. Only one of the nkámú
62/ has the function of judge. Consequently, we may say that even
if the office is divided, the group still forms a unit as far as
jurisdiction and political organization are concerned.

62/ Among these groups we usually can observe a balanced
62/ system of distribution as far as titles and offices are concerned.
62/ It may either be predominantly democratic, as in Isangi, so
62/ that all groups may lay claim to titles and offices, or it may be
62/ oligarchic, as in Mbanga, where all power is vested in the old-
est group of sons. In most cases, oligarchical groups tend to
disintegrate; the younger groups attempt to free themselves from
the rule. Democratic villages usually have a greater degree of
cohesion.

In Isangi the small kinship groups of Ndongó (Nos. 2-4),
Ngonga (No. 5), and Boyeke (Nos. 14-18) formerly had the
privilege of furnishing the nkámú. This practice has been dis-
carded, and the honor is now rotated among the six local groups
of the village. Only the small kinship groups of the Bolima,
Besilo, and Njifokuli are excluded.

62/ The six settlement communities of Isangi and similar
62/ groupings found in other villages are parts of a village which
in my opinion are best described by the term hamlet [Weiler].

These are units which are predominantly intentional in
nature. In spite of their functional weakness, they have sur-
vived even in the new settlement although they may not dwell
together in a block. As a result of reintegration, they have lost
their function as conscription district for the dancing groups in
Isangi (see p. 25), but even at the present time they still
represent the most important grouping in Isangi; we were aware
of it before identifying any of the kinship groups. It is expected
that they will lose their importance if Isangi does not return to
its original site. By nature less closely connected with the or-
ganization of the village of their husbands, the women have
become the point of departure for the new order of things (e.g.,
for dance groups) which fulfills the requirements of the new
settlement conditions.

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621 Each hamlet includes one or several message districts.
624 Even at the time of the old settlement pattern the messenger
[202] system was determined by the hierarchical structure and not
at all by considerations of what was most practical (for example,
the shortest route). Consequently this conservative institution
of the conservative old men has not been affected at all by the
relocation.

The villages are the communities of jurisdiction and
of political life. Usually a nkúmú, presides over the meetings.
If a village has several nkúmú, one of whom may be the judge
or all may preside together, I have used the term "part of a
village" [Dorftell] for the district from which each nkúmú
originates.

361 Those areas which have a special meeting place are here
621 referred to as a "province" [Gau]. The meeting place lies
178 within the territory of the oldest or second-oldest kinship group.
The practical importance of this institution for the entire prov-
ince is minimal, but the two meeting places [202] which we
discovered still constituted, until a short time ago, important
social centers for the duplicate villages forming the administra-
tive centers of the respective provinces. As a result of the re-
location, the meeting places have now lost their function com-
pletely.

000 I hope that this paper has added new material to the
discussion on the subject of ethno-sociological terminology, and
that it will stimulate criticism and a new discussion of this im-
portant subject.